If McKinley

Is as popular with the masses as THE JOURNAL is with its myriads of readers, he will be elected President by an overwhelming majority. : : : : : : :

THE JOURNAL

Depew's Nomination

For the second place is still doubtful; but there is no doubt that THE JOURNAL holds the first place in popularity. : : :

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HERE IS THE SITUATION AT ST. LOUIS.

As Seen for the Journal by:

J. J. INGALLS.

A Masterly Review of the Position, with Some Brilliant Satire on Foraker.

By JOHN J. INGALLS.

St. Louis, Mo., June 15.—The Republican party is in a transition period, and appears to proceed with halting and uncertain footsteps. The issues on which it came into power have gone into power. They have passed from platforms into precedents, and are written in statutes and constitutional amendments. No political organization ever in so brief a time exerted such a prodigious influence upon the destinies of the human race.

The issues of the present are not formulated. They arise from different conditions and deal with more subtle but not less important problems. Having obtained equal rights for all, we must now secure equal opportunities for all in the battle of life. This is the mission of the Republican party in the future. This is the meaning of the struggle for protection and bimetallism.

The old leaders that make the record of the Republican party so heroic and its Congresses and conventions so dramatic, have disappeared. Afew superfluous veterans yet lag upon the stage, but the thrill of glory is over and the pulse of praise is felt no more.

The new leaders have not received their credentials. They sit in the shadow of colossal memories. They have won no battles, nor fought any campaigns. Those who remember Thaddeus Stevens, Winter Davis, "Zack" Chandler, Blaine, Logan and Conkling, feel that there were giants in those days, whose successors have not yet appeared upon the scene.

Convention week opens with a dismal, lowering sky, intermittent rain and a heavy, depressing atmosphere, in harmony with the vague monotony of the political situation. The approach of no great event was ever attended with so little tension or so few exciting incidents. This placidity is due, not so much to lack of opportunity as to want of men to give voice to the aspirations of the people. There has been no time since the abolition of slavery when the masses were so profoundly agitated as now by the injustice of modern society and the unequal distribution of its privileges and its burdens. But there is no one to whom the people instinctively turn for guidance.

The phenomenal popularity of McKinley must be attributed, not so much to himself as to the cause for which he stands and the idea which he represents. We have the hour, but not the man. Possibly before the end of the week he may arrive. If he is in ambush, lurking privately among the nine hundred delegates, this is his chance. Whoever can speak the word the people are waiting to hear will have an audience seldom vouchsafed to mortal. He will be heard not only by the 15,000 in the hall, but by as many millions outside before the sun goes down.

Whether it be Temporary Chairman Fairbanks, or Permanent Chairman Thurston, or Foraker, the herald of McKinley, or the other heralds, or some obscure and anonymous delegate from the great valley, or the seaboard, or the Gulf, or the Pacific, this is his occasion. Ingersoll had no greater opportunity in 1876, nor Garfield in 1880. Taken at the flood this tide may lead to fame and fortune. But there wont be much tolerance for mediocrity and platitudes.

The preliminary work of the convention has been performed with exceptional thoroughness, ability and patience. Irritation has been allayed, friction removed and pride appeased with consummate adroitness. Hanna is a past master in the art of compromise and adjustment. When he stands in slippery places, he takes heed. He treads the path of his feet with circumspection. Lily Whites, Black-and-Tans, duplex organizations, personal animosities, all have been harmonized, and even the menacing factions in New York appear to have been propitiated. This is a triumph of diplomacy which has been seldom surpassed. It is the impression that the decisions of the committee will be accepted without further protest.

When the convention meets at noon to-morrow, metaphorically speaking, the decks will be cleared for action. The programme is practically complete. The committees have been selected, and unless some obstacle not foreseen is encountered, there is no reason why the adjournment shouldn't take place by Thursday night. The only serious debate will be on the platform, and that will be confined to the financial declaration. If gold is inserted it is claimed that the West will be lost. If it is not inserted it is claimed that the East is lost. But if the Democrats and the Populists should declare for free silver and the Republicans for bimetallism upon the basis of parity with gold, it is difficult to see where the gold standard men could go, unless, like the darky in the story, they "took to the woods."

Greater public interest and curiosity is felt about Foraker's speech nominating McKinley than any other scheduled event of the convention. He comes quite near being a

Continued on Second Page.

Senator Ingalls.---A Sketch from Life.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

How the Veteran Republican Editor Sees the Great Gathering, and How He Reflects Upon the Prospect.

BY MURAT HALSTEAD.

St. Louis, June 15.—The deep hum that is known to the experienced in great conventions is on in the hotels of St. Louis, and the music of many bands is heard in the corridors and on the streets. The usual cloud of tobacco smoke rises over the masses of men who believe themselves to be seriously interested and engaged in exciting conversation. It is only fair to say for St. Louis that her hotel accommodations are greater than has been represented, and that the city has been surprisingly improved within recent years, both in the business and residence quarters, and that for some mysterious reason there is a cleanliness of the atmosphere unknown in Chicago, Cincinnati and Louisville.

Here we have the first introduction in a natoual conventon of those gigantic heads of celebrities, latterly a fad with dramatic brethren and sisters. Faces of all the Presidential candidates about a hundred times larger than life are features of the hotel landscapes. One is looked down upon by the strong, grave face of McKinley, the keenly observant but composed Quay, the handsome and pensive Allison and the grand, Shakespearian Reed, and where one confronts the whole group it is difficult not to be stared out of countenance. The dark and piercing eyes of Reed do not seem to regard the multitude with geniality. The humor that adorns his countenance and conversation as his friends know him is not seen in the wonderful head that frowns upon us here. McKinley has an appropriate air of superb confidence. Quay is clearly prepared for whatever may happen. Allison has a high-hearted aspect of thoughtful generosity. Huge pictures of Governor Morton are not so much multiplied as some of the others, and in the only one of immense proportions that I have encountered there is most prominent the characteristic benignity.

There is a considerable attendance at all the headquarters of candidates and an air of earnestness in doing business that at the majority of them I have an apprehension is affected, but there is no mistaking, there is a plain sign, not over largely lettered, "McKinley's headquarters." In the thronged precincts of this neighborhood it would seem appropriate to have such an instruction made prominent as the French police give to crowds too dense and ready to stagnate, "Circulate, messieurs." Within the inner chambers, just beyond the pressure of those whose duties are not very urgent in this cause, are groups of distinguished Republicans discussing the platform, and there is more warmth than noise about their conversation.

The following memorandum was written by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, with the intent to cover ground to be occupied by the critical portion of the money plank, and it is said to have received the general approbation of the Northeastern gold States:

We favor the maintenance of the existing gold standard and are opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world.

An Ohio Congressman, with a view to get along without the use of the superfluous word "gold," and make an affirmative declaration in behalf of international bimetallism, and avoid several reports and controversy, prepared the following:

We favor the present standard and are opposed to the coinage of silver at the existing ratio, but are for an international agreement that the ratio of the metals may be determined.

There is authority that ought to be authentic for stating that the following is regarded with favor by Major McKinley:

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency

Continued on Second Page.

HENRY GEORGE.

The Great Single Taxer Studies the Prospect by the Light of His Own Experiences.

St. Louis, June 14.—The hotels are ecrowded and the stranger finds it hard to get a bed. The streets are gay with decorations and filled with men wearing bright badges, and the damp, warm air bears the strains of marching tunes. It is the national gathering of the Republican party; one of our great four-year political fairs.

From such great fairs held before this, it probably does not differ much except for unusual unanimity. Every one seems to be for "protection and prosperity," and for McKinley as the prophet of protection and the bringer of prosperity. Yet beneath the surface strong tides are running, and the very unanimity is suggestive of the smooth, deep green of Niagara as it gathers for the rush and roar of the fall. McKinley has his wish so far as the nomination is concerned.

The organized opposition seems to be utterly broken down. But beyond the nomination a threatening shadow looms across his path. He can be nominated, but can he be nominated in such a way as will insure election? That has become the perplexing question.

I was a boy at sea when a passing ship brought news that the first Republican convention had gievn birth to a new party opposed to slavery. From that moment I was a Republican and tried to support Freemont in all a boy who could not vote might do. Casting my first suffrage for Lincoln in California, I continued to support that party till the war was over and Grant was President. And I accepted, too, what I now think its great mistake, and as earnest a protectionist as the men around me to-day, who wear the badge "Protection and Prosperity." More logical perhaps, than most of them, I found consolation for the ravages of the Alabama and the Florida in the thought that they were incidentally protecting the better paid workmen of California against the more poorly paid labor of the East.

But one night, while Grant was President, a fellow compositor took me to a debating club, where I heard a man now well-known in California (and, I am glad to say, now a single taxer), make an address that would elicit applause if delivered in to-morrow's convention, an address in which protection was extolled as the highest patriotism and the surest road to national prosperity. People think quickly when their thought is ripe for it, and I left the room a free trader. For I saw that to talk of "protection and prosperity" was like talking of "sin and sunshine" or "robbery and righteousness." I was never a half-way man, and when I comprehended that the inevitable outcome of the policy of protection, to which the Republican party had become committed, was the institution of an industrial slavery in place of the chattel slavery that had ben abolished, I sought the Democratic party as affording the readiest way of opposing the attempt to make men rich by denying their natural rights. And from that time on the only thing I have thought worth working for and voting for in national politics, had been the reverse of protection—equal rights.

I was a delegate from San Francisco in the Democratic Convention of 1872 that nominated Horace Greeley, and heartily supported this arch-representative of American protection, because I believed his candidacy as a Democratic nominee would do much to end the war feeling, and this I most heartily desired a means of bringing political discussion back to the questions that really most concerned the masses of our people, the social and economic questions. And I stayed with the Democratic party throughout the Tilden campaign, and the Hancock campaign, hoping that it might at last turn to the real democracy, the true democracy, the democracy of Thomas Jefferson, and speak the word of power, equal rights to all and special privileges to none. But, tired of hope deferred, I had come to think that the only hope must lie in some new movement.

When, at length, Cleveland questioed the policy of "Protection and Prosperity," in his message of 1888, I was one of those who rallied to his support, not because he had said free trade, but because he had at least made a movement toward free trade. In the first battle with protection Cleveland was defeated, and, flushed with triumph, the protected interests gathered to pass the McKinley bill. Then came the triumphant renomination of Cleveland and his triumphant election on the third successive time of running, an honor never before accorded to an American citizen.

How, in the hands of his administration, the hope that gave him power has been ignored, and stultified, it is needless to say. The effect on me, is that if I must choose again between two protectionists, I would prefer a Republican protectionist to a Democratic protectionist. If an army is to be massed for the avowed purpose of putting down strikes, Federal troops are to be sent into States without call of their authorities, if we are to be threatened with wars that could only profit spoilsmen, and extravagant expenditures are to be maintained by the issue of bonds uncalled for by Congress, it is bette rthat these things should be done by the avowed party of strong government than by a party that pretends to follow the Jeffersonian philosophy.

I speak of my own feelings because I believe this feling has grown into intensity through the country and amon great numbers of those who gave the Democratic party victory in 1892. It is the feling expressed in John Randolph's order to the waiter, "If you call that tea, bring me coffee, but if you call that coffee, bring me tea."

It is really this feeling of utter disgust with and utter hopelessness of the Democratic party its present management that has lain at the bottom of McKinley's strength and that has been mistaken for the ardent desire for more protection. The wish and expectation of Governor McKinley and his mangers have been to make the coming campaign on the same issue that the last campaign was made. In this they saw certain success, and they were right, for the opposition to protection cannot again be rallied by any one else than an avowed free trader.

Bpt the disgust of the Democratic masses has found expression in the primary elections which insure a free silver majority in the Democratic Convention to be held in Chicago. This changes the whole political situation, by forcing a new alignment in politics. The McKinley managers wish to make the tariff the issue, and to pass over the money question by a straddle or by ignoring it altogether, but "it takes two to make a quarrell," and a single party, let its managers desire it as they may, and let its machine be ever so perfect, cannot of itself make an issue on which men will come to the polls to vote.

What people are now thinking about, and talking about, particularly through the West, is not the tariff question, which Cleveland Democracy has put to sleep for a while, but the money question. The expected action of the Democratic convention forces this to the front, and for the Republican convention to ignore it, would be to leave their candidate, once "almost as good as elected," to face an aggressive foe, with a bolt in his own ranks.

But, while both feeling and political discretion prompt to the faking of the other side of the issue, which the Democratic action must force, and declaring for gold, Governor McKinley is evidently loath to do it. There is no doubt that his strength in the West has in reality come more from the belief that he was a free silver man than from admiration of him as the author of the McKinley bill. For him to come out for gold, while it would prevent an otherwise certain break in the Republican organization, would insure, though not a break in the party, some defection at the polls, how much soever it might be compensated for from other quarters.

The feeling here on the eve of the convention, is that McKinley must take the plunge, and the platform declares flatly and unequivocally for gold, the issue then is a new one and the result is uncertain. It is this that makes the Republican Convention that will meet to-morrow, so interesting. It may be that it will be the last of the Republican conventions. What is really coming to the front so quickly and so strongly that he most astute politicians are perplexed by it, is, in reality, a phase of the great social question.

HENRY GEORGE.